[Continued from first page.]

e here and cannot get away. Ohio, Indiana, and Rhode nd are covering in, and there is danger of Illimeis, and now they bell us, for God's min, to come to the result and save the Republican party from rupture. I hope

It was thought to be of more importance t save the party from rapture, than to save the Union, and prevent war. The voice of feeling—of passion prevailed. The judgments of men were not consulted. That which was but a little cloud a short time before, spread fearfully—fatally. CHAPTER UL

Mr. Buchanan called the attention of Congress to the state of affairs, in his last Annual Message in Dec. 1860, and called upon Congress to devise some remedy. He disclaimed any power under the Constitution and existing acts of Congress, to use conceion. The Crittenden Compromise was the remody brought forward and defeated. Congress adjourned leaving the matter in a worse condition than they found it, for seven States had secoled during the session. The Democracy were in a minority at that session of

North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Miss-ouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware had refused to secede or co-operate with the States that had, unless some open act of the new administration should show its hostility to them. Under these circumstances

he had exercised control over the members of his party in Congress, from the time it was ascer-tained he was elected. Without doubt he could have caused the adoption of the Crittenden Compromise, even before he assumed the reins of

His inaugural was an anomaly. Mr. Doug lass, in the S. nate, openly construed it in favor of peace-Speech of March 15th 1861, also March 6th 1861,-opposed to coercion. Others con-strued it differently. Conservative men, hoping for conservative measures, gave it a construction favorable to their wishes. Ultra men, interpreting it to suit their views, were not displeased with it Instead of openly avowing his policy, if he had any, he appeared to be temporizing. He took no steps for the adjustment of the difficulties. He let valuable time slip by, whilst the rebels were preparing for six weeks, as they had before prepared in a most outrageously improper manner, through the official influence of Floyd. The border states men were argent against any attempt at coercion, as it would inevitably carry their

Two Southern Forts-Sumter and Pickens, had not been seized by Southern men, but were still occupied by United States soldiers. It became necessary to bring the soldiers away, or

States along with the South.

The rebels had no objection to their being brought away, but did object to their being relieved, so as to hold the forts in their waters, as they impudently said. The President determined to succor fort Sumter, and so notified the Governor of South Carolina. Under the excited state of feeling, as any cool headed men might have foreseen, this attempt brought on a collision of arms. Woe betide the man that fired the first

The President then called for seventy-five thousand men. The border States, except Maryland, Delaware and Kentucky, turned against us. being unwilling to engage in any attempt at coercion. Armies were assembled on each side. The great battle of

Was fought, and we were repulsed. On the next day Congress-then in session, on motion of Mr. Crittenden, Resolved:

That thi-war was not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor for any purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States; but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the

This was the first direct avowal of the ultimate purpose of the war; and under it an immense army was raised—said by one in a position to know, of seven hundred and fifty thousand men. The propriety of prosecuting the war, for the purposes thus avowed, did not appear to be ques-tioned by any, in the excitement, except those who honestly believed that a government built upon the consent of the governed could not be maintained by compelling them, by force, to sub-mit to it when they desired to make a change.

And those who still believed that "war is disunion, certain, enevitable, irrevocable, I am for peace to save the Union."-Douglas's speech Congressional Globe Jan. 3rd, 1861.

NO PARTY

Brought to our standard thus reared, men of all parties Whigs, Americans, Democrats, and a few

Abolitionists as privates-many as officers. Immense sums were voted to arm, equip, and maintain this vast army, with scarcely a division in Congress or State Legislatures. Lists of votes were no index of the former party affiliation of the voters. Congressional Globe July 10th 1861, page 61, Yeas 150, Navs 5.

After the men were in the field, and the vast sums appropriated, then another

Boldly showed his hand. The Abolition party raised its hydra head. On last December the Senate was barely organized, when Mr. Trumbull gave notice of a bill to confiscate the property of rebels, and giving freedom to the persons they held in slavery. Congressional Globe 1861. page 1. In the House on the same day, several propositions of a like character were introduced, and in the language of a conservative Republican Senator Mr. Cowan, July 1st, 1862, Congressional Globe page 2994.

Hardly a day has elapsed here that some measure was not introduced relating to slavery, and which was calculated to irritate, to wound, and to alienate those loval and willing friends from us. How is it now? The gulf which ultra school of the kepublican party, is nearly as wide on this floor, as that which separated the secessionists and Republicans of former times.

Although Mr. Lincoln had avoided committing himself to a policy, yet his appointments and other acts of that character, were closely watched by

1861, in his paper, the Knoxville Whig. (He is now a pet of Northern men.) We have become satisfied that the weakness of the

Hear parson Brownlow, on the 13th of April

President and infamy of his counsels, will result in a complete and final separation of all the slave States from the Union, and in a bloody civil war. And again :

An unwise, unpatriotic, not to say reckless, abolition course is being pursued (at Wa-hington) which will crush out the border States, and finally cause the North and the South to drift away from each other.

And yet again :

We were pleased with Linco'n's Inaugural, and have to record our deep regrets, that its conservative, peace-lovng and sound nationality of sentiment is not to be car-

ried out. The new Administration we feel confident will prove, in a very short time, to be an atheistical, deistical abolition swindle.

Congress, instead of calmly considering the ways and means of getting out of all our difficulties, and feeding white men called into the service as soldiers; turned their Halls into places of meeting for two negro debating societies, in which abolition members vied with each other in inventing ways and means to benefit the negroto feed him when he had run off-to clothe himto liberate him-to arm him-to open schools to educate him-to place him on an equality with the white man. By this means they gave

AID TO THE ENEMY, By singling out their property in negro slaves and striking at that in various forms, under the plea of thereby weakening them. See letter July 14th, 1862, of J. J. Crittenden, and nineteen other members of Congress from border slave

States, to the President. 1st. By the many speeches in Congress, in favor of abolition. 2nd. By the abolition of slavery in the District

3rd. The passage of a law permitting the testimony of negroes in certain cases against the

4th. The repeal of the law against the transortation of the mails by negroes. 5th. The amendment of the articles of war, so as to make it a high offense for an officer of the

army to return a runaway slave to his owner. 6th. The refusal to make it an offense of lik character for an other to entice away a slave. 7th. The passage of a law recognizing as our equals the negro governments of Liberia, and of

advance and read them to the enemy. 8th. The passage of a confiscation bill-aimed

at slavery. 9th. The act authorizing the President to call negroes into military service. 10th. Worse than all, the President's plan.

This war is prosecuted, we suppose, upon the theory that a considerable portion of the people of the South are loyal to the Union-and that control over them has been usurped by the extreme Southern faction.

The passage of some of these measures, and

purpose. See Cowan's speech July 7th, 1862, Chief Justice Marshall—who made use of this Cong. Globe, page 3147. Instead of weakening language: peaking of several of these acts, among others, hat authorizing the arming of slaves, Garrett

AND PROPERTY AND PARTY. We would regard their authors as our worst enemies; we would arm every man and boy that we have in the land, and we would meet you in the deathstruggle. - Congressional Globe, p. 3 205. July 9. 1862; Henderson's Speech, Congressional Globe, p. 3,231.

the same time lessens the prospect of any reconciliation, or re-establi-hment of authority, except by naked absolute at the same time lessens the prospect of any reconciliation, or re-establi-hment of authority, except placing the same time lessens the prospect of any reconciliation. by naked, absolute subjugation. This course is in direct contradiction to the avowed purpose for which the army was raised, as heretofore shown, and is a fraud upon the soldiers so enlisted. Merely as a sample of abolition speeches, we

rive one extract, when a volume might be pubgreat power; to them in good time shall be added a third.

Hi name shall be EMANCIPATION. And there three-TAX, FIGHT, EMANCIPATE—shall be the TRINITY of our salvation. In this sign we shall conquer.— Pike's Speech, Congressional Globe, p. 658, Feb. 5, '62

Passing over the blasphemy of this gentleman, we call attention to the fact, that this member was, and is, in favor of taxing and fighting to emancipate slaves-not a word about maintaining the Constitution and the laws. This would pro-

long the war and burden us. It is calculated to greatly injure the loval men in the South, who have risked everything in our behalf. It will not do to say that it does not touch their property: for it is well known that slaves, in the midst of free negroes, are comparatively worthless. To confiscate the property of Union men would be an outrage—to destroy its value is but little better. To free the negroes and bring them among us, is now out of the question, as witness, the ninety-four thousand majority in Indiana, and the overwhelming vote but the other day cast in Illinois, in favor of their exclu-

This confiscation invention is calculated to do us, therefore, more harm, among loval men in the South, than either of the others. No confiscation measure would have passed, or have been entertained, but for the hope of thereby abolishing slavery, either partially or wholly. And upon the power to do so Mr. CLAY, in his speech of guage: the 7th of Feb. 1839 says:

The Constitution of the United States never could have been formed upon the principle of investing the General Government with authority to abolish the institution at its pleasure. It can never be continued for a single day, if the exercise of such a power be assumed or usurped.

It is not proposed to sell the slaves, to re-imthem at liberty. This all the border State members join in denouncing, as an act tending to strengthen the revolt. See letter of Crittenden

Thus far as to its policy-so far as the slave is involved. As to the effect in seizing other property, Mr. Cowan said June 28th, 1862, in a speech Cong. Globe 2994:

execution as far as you can, and you will never realize from it enough to pay the expenses of its administration. That is, not one cent will go into the Treasury.

It will only feed a horde of greedy office seekers, m administering it. As to the legality of such act of abolitionfor it is nothing more, disguise it as they may, we know of no respectable authority sustaining it. We have already shown the whole question

is under S ate control. that in time of peace no such power exists under the Constitution, nor is their any direct grant of but it is said that it ought to belong to the gov- of Nov. 1860. ernment as a necessity.

The craziest of the whole crazy pack of abolitionists in Congress-Senator Sumner, who is their acknowledged leader, for with them, the most funatical is considered the worthiest; we say this man, but recently, declared, in his place, that the Constitution is made for peace and not for war, and that:

War, as it comes, treads down within its sphere all rights except the rights of war. Born of violence, and looking to violence for victory, it discards all limitations, except such as are supplied by the rights of war. Once begun, war is a law unto itself. And just in proportion as you seek to moderate it by constitutional limitations, do you take from war something of its efficiency. - Con-

In this short quotation is disclosed the reason that many ulira men and political papers at the North, at first opposed to coercion-to war; suddenly became converts to the war policy; of these the New York Tribune, and Indianapolis Journal, are fair samples.

And although the President may be, as this Sumner wrote to a friend, June 5th, 1862, (See New York Tribune, June 16th, 1862,) at heart with them, yet his vacillating course has at times called down their anathemas, as in the Cincinnati Gazette of July 7th, in which the elements of his character are declared to be "milk

and water." Tolerably weak dilution. At the close of the last war with England, and afterwards, those in a position to act were instructed, Mr. J. Q. Adams being Secretary of yield .- Henderson's (Unim Senator of Missouri,) State, to insist upon remuneration for slaves, Speech, Congressional Globe, p. 3231, July 10, 1862. seized during the war, on the ground that the

southern men, in slaves, shall be confiscated, and act. the slaves set free. By this means the ultra men hope to evade the Constitution, and effect that which they have otherwise failed to accomplishthe abolition of slavery. For without this stroke at slavery, no confiscation bill would have troubled Congress for a single day.

Again: by Article 4th, of the Constitution it is provided that : The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government; and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the

Legislature or of the Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence. And further: Congress shall have power: To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, &c .- Sec. 8,

If it is true, as we have attempted to show, that, from the middle of December to the 4th of March, valuable time was suffered to pass by during the administration of Mr. Buchanan, for the alledged want of authority to act, and an opposition Congress failed to confer that authority, and if the administration of Mr. Lincoln, in like manner from the fourth of March to the middle ernment to gather strength in the South-not for the same excuse Mr. Buchanan gave; for it was admitted steps were eventually taken not warranted by law, (Trumbull's speech Cong. Globe page 2974.) we sav if the then loval inhabitants of the South-with all their family ties and property interests confining them to that section, were thus left without the protecting arm of the federal government, and subject to the rule of the usurpers : then this government was not without blame, as declared by a Republican Senator-Mr. Cowan, Cong. Globe page 2962. Personal and property rights require some kind of govern

ment to protect them; and if this government will not, or cannot protect its loval citizens within its limits in those rights, then if they acquiesce in or seek protection under a government apparently acting by color of authority, it is a question whether they should be held criminal to the extent of being punished by the deprivation of all their property-which would fall upon the helpless as well as the guilty-upon women and children as well as the guilty head of the family. We are not speaking of the leaders of this rebellion, but of those who have been forced into it by circumstances, and will be kept there by the force of the same was then attempting to incite them to take arms circumstances, notwithstanding all the proclamations Mr. Lincoln may issue, unless our armies

This view is the more serious from the fact that such loyal citizens, if they had continued to hold out against the asurper's power, would have been deprived of their liberty and property by that power, if the statements we have heard of the persecutions of Union men are true. t us be just towards such persons "though the heavens Let us not drive them to desperation, as British officers, in the Revolutionary war, drove those who had night protection, lest the same result follows, to-wit: the filling up the armies of the rebels, and enabling them thereby to triumph. - See Life of Merion, p. 114.

attempt to pass the others, gave those usurpers governing civilized nations upon this subject, the the very strongest arguments they could use question has already, as a legal one, been decidagainst a restoration of our authority, namely; ed by the Supreme Court of the United States, hat the elministration was determined to destroy 7 Peters, 87, in an opinion pronounced by one of their rights, and is prosecuting the war for that the ablest judges that ever sat upon the bench-

them, by such acts, thousands, and tens of thousands not be unworthy of remark that it is very unsands are driven to the standard of revolt. In sual, even in cases of conquest, for the conquest to do more than to displace the sovereign and assume dominion over the country. The modern senerge of nations, make has become law, would be violated: that sense of justice Davis, the "Union" successor of Breckinridge, and right, which is acknowledged and felt by the whole civilized world, would be entraged, if private property should be generally confecuted, and private rights an-

In this war there can be no conquest, for the reason that so far as, under the Constitution, any right of dominion could exist over the terriand enabling the people to again acknowledge that right. In accomplishing this object, even by force, there can legitimately exist no greater right to seize or control private property, of those rallying under that flag, than if the war was against a foreign power. That far we have our duty to-day is to tax and fight. Twin brothers of in horses—and use it or the purposes of our army, in the necessary preparations to suppress

during this war.

breadth of the

was passed.

Cong. Globe 3,323, July 14, 1862.

page 2907, June 25th, 1862.

is this thing to stop?

here, to witness its arrival.

a fare, and such a sight.

our annual tax to the slaveholders of the South.

It would be a beautiful sight to see, each year,

decrees of providence and order of nature.

The white race is the superior—the black the

inferior. If any white man thinks the negroes is

with him. Perhaps so far as he is concerned his

theory might be admitted. Believing we are the

superior race, we are not willing to be taxed for

the benefit of the inferior, to the extent of buying

him, and supporting him in idleness. For it is

well known that with the negro, the idea of free-

dom is always associated with exemption from

3. If freed he could not come among us, as

eretofore shown. He could not remain where

he is without there being a war of races, in which

the one would eventually extinguish the other.

The scenes of St. Domingo would be re-enacted.

In St. Domingo, the standard-in place of a flag-

under which the slaves fought, was the body of

a white infant impaled upon a stake. [Edward]

Everett's oration at an anti-John Brown meeting

in Boston. | See also Brown's history of that Is-

land. No civilized christian can, without horror,

I would not be understood as desiring a service insur-

tionist, like Giddings, would glory in it.

ercise of

amount of our indebtedness.

his equal, we will have no controversy about it

It is open to many objections:

2. It would create a debt we never could

pay. The value indicated by Congress in the bill abolishing slavery in the District of Col-

umbia, is three hundred dollars per head-and

ble excuses and promises to conservative men,

reprimand of Hunter, because of their abolition

PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

the rebellion. We have discussed this question, thus far, as affected by law and by policy. It incidentally involves, also, a point of konor, of good faith, so far as our rulers are concerned.

Mr. Lincoln, when a member of Congress, an nounced the following as being his settled views: Any people anywhere, being inclined, and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. ils is a most valuable and most sacred right-a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is the right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize and nake their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority interningled with or near about them who may oppose these novements.—Appendix Congressional Globe, 1847-48,

It looks as if the Southern men were inclined to rise up, and as if they had some power. After the knowledge that the man holding these sentiments was elected, these rebels began to "move," threatening to "rise up and shake off the existing Government." Then, on the 9th of November, 1860, the New York Tribune, three of whose editors have since been chosen to fill high stations by Mr. Lincoln, held this lan-

If the Cotton States shall become satisfied that they can de better out of the Union than in it, we insist letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless, \* \* \* We hope never to live in a Republic whereof one section is

pinned to another by bayonets And again, December 17, 1860:

It is not proposed to sell the slaves, to re-im-burse the expenses of the war—but merely to set cession from the British Empire of three millions of colopists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five millions of Southerners from the Union

Column after column, to the same purport, running through several months, might be republished from that paper.

So the Indianapolis Journal heretofore published a series of articles, commencing after the election of Lincoln by the people, and before As to the expenses of the war, pass this bill, put it in any State had secoded, and running through several months, insisting upon letting the Southern States go, if they desired to do so. We have only room for two or three extracts as samples of the whole:

They know very well that if they are determined to leave the Union, no Lepublican will care to have them stay. If South Carolina and her associates in folly really want to leave the Union, they can go without a word of objection from any man north of Mason and Dixon's Line. We would not turn our hand over to have them stay, if they must stay with a feeling of hostility and distrust But it is assumed that it can be done under the which they proclaim as the only feeling they can ever hold towards the North. \* \* \* We do not believe in resisting any secession movement in the bast. Those who think the Union too bad for them to endure, are just those the Union can best do without. Let all go who power, in this respect, different in time of war; want to, we say, and let them go quietly .- Journal, 13th

Again, on the 21st of August, 1861: If they (the rebels) will lay down their arms, and come now to the nation for permision to separate, we shall again say, "yes;" for we have seen no reason to change the

views we advocated last winter. So the Chicago Tribune, of December 1860, and the Cincinnati Commercial of March, 1861, and previous thereto, contained many articles to the same effect, as may be seen by examination. if this was not opening a correspondence with the South, to procure disunion, as proposed by the resolutions of 1859, we confess we cannot

see the purpose in view. Look a moment at the situation. Mr. Lincoln had been elected to the Presidency, entertaining these views of the right of revolution. His leading party papers-the editors of which he rewards-still insisted upon the same right, as applied to the South. Portions of the people in that part of the United States, have not been protected by the Federal arm for a year and a half. Men disposed to be loval, but looking to these views of the President and his friends, have expected an ultimate recognition of the usurper's overnment, which had immediate control over hem, and so have been seduced into its support, because it appeared to act by color of authority at least had the power to command them-and the Federal Government did not come to their

The fact is, that a de facto government has been established there so long, that men who were at first unwilling to yield obedience to that government, who put it off for six or nine months, have finally been compelled to

Are they now to be treated as criminals because rules of internacional laws of confiscation did not they have acted in accordance with the suggestions of those who are now our rulers? Are we to take But now these men who hate slavery, more advantage of our own wrong? For if the revoluthan they love the Constitution, and prefer that tion is wrong, these suggestions were also wrong. slavery and the Constitution shall die together And we can not, and do not, in view of the exrather than that both shall live, (Browning's isting state of affairs, indorse these sentiments, if speech Rep. Cong. Globe page 2923.) and who we did, the conclusion would inevitably follow. rould drive emancipation as a condition to their that the revolution is right. It appears to us, as furnishing men, (see letter of Governor Andrews a mere matter of right, that those who did advoof Massachusetts, Cong. Globe page 2391); we cate such views, as applied to the present state say these men have sprung this new fangled doc- of affairs, should not be so open mouthed now trine, that a war makes laws unto itself; and one for the plunder of the very men some of whom, of the laws of this war is that the property of all for anght we know, were by them influenced to

> Allegiance and protection are reciprocal; the one ceasing when the other is withdrawn .- Jefferson's Works.

> We cannot believe that it is possible, that these men were so lost to humanity as to have been then acting on the doctrines of Lord North, in reference to our fathers, namely:

That a rebellion was not to be deprecated-that the confiscations it would produce, would provide for many of their friends .- Jefferson's Works, vol. 1. p. 89.

As to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, Democrats have, from the foundation of the Government, denied the power of Congress to pass such an act. Eminent men, opposed to the Democracy, whilst they have insisted upon the right, have, like John Q. Adams, declared it would be bad faith towards the South, and especially towards Virginia and Maryland, from whose territory the District was carved. It would create an asylum for free negroes-a city

of refuge in their midst. The act was performed as an entering wedge to a more extended system, and it was in that view of the subject, we suppose, that one of our Senator's declared, it was the greatest victory of April, lay by and suffered a provisional Gov- that had been achieved during the war-that is, that taxing white men to buy and free negroes, was more to be lauded than the acts of our brave soldiers on tented fields.

> As to the question of arming the slaves, we do not desire to enter into any lengthy argument, but among the many objections that crowd themselves forward, we would suggest the following: 1. Such step is an acknowledgment, before the world, that the white men of the North are not able to contend successfully with the rebellion. 2. To place our white soldiers side by side

> with negro slaves, is degrading to the white by

equalizing him with the black. 3. In some of the slave States the blacks are more numerous than the whites, and loval South, ern men testify that if you mass them togetherand place arms in their hands, they will not fight like civilized men, but will savagely slaughter women and children, and can not be restrained. Davis's speech, Con. Gl., p. 3264, July 9, 1862. 4. In the original draft, by Jefferson, of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson's Work. vol. 1, p. 19: "One great complaint against King George was, that he had permitted negroes to be brought in against the will of the colonists, and

against their masters." 5. In the Convention the New England States. that are now the most ultra, voted to extend the time for the continuance of the slave trade, and availed themselves of that time to reap heavy profits in furnishing slaves to the South, and now propose putting arms in their hands to cut the throats of those who bought them.

6. A white soldier, as we elsewhere show, costs us something over eight hundred dollars a year. Under this bill if a negro is employed his mother, his wife and his children are to be free Further, if we are to be governed by the rules upon compensation being made to the owner, if about it. We can come within a hundred million of it,

loyal. That wife, mother and children, at a probably, and not nearer. - Grimes' Abolition Speech Congressioned Globe, p. 2474, Mary 31, '62. reasonable rate might be worth \$1500-and that sum is, therefore, offered as a premium, for one

black soldier, who, more than probably, will run I predict that our indebtedness will amount at the end of the year to \$1,500,000,000. When the leaders have desired large appropria-7. It is no argument for the employment of tions by Congress, they have repeatedly stated. negro slaves against their masters and families. upon the floor, that our expenses were as much to say that Jackson called upon the free negroes and mulattoes at New Orleans, or that Washing. as three millions of dollars per day. [Congressington called upon them in his retreat from the sional Globe, Jan. 13th, 1892; April 8th, 1862; Jerseys-to which Rhode Island responded; be- Feb. 6th, 1862; Feb. 20th, 1862 ] This would cause in each case, they were led against men, make the aggregate of over one thousand milsoldiers, a foreign foe-no women and children lions per annum. to suffer by their bentality; and again in each

It is now fifteen months since these immense case there were so few-In Rhode Island less expenditures began, and would therefore give at than two hundred capable of bearing arms .- that rate about fourteen hundred millions of dol lars. If the war was to end to day this would Census of 1790. And in Louisania but few free, not be all, for there would rest upon us an obliand slaves were not called on; they could be gation to provide for disabled and other soldiers. and families of soldiers, to an indefinite amount. We have not, nor do not, offer any objection So that the end cannot be seen It may be safely to their being taken as other property, when neestated that the child is not vet born that will essary, by commanders, to dig or build intrenchcease to meet the tax gatherer in his ever returnments &c, and to be sent back when they have ing rounds, exacting the annual products of our done the work; as has been often done already toil, for what? If to pay the just expenses-the PATRIOTIC SOLDIERS Although the various acts passed and to which

we have refered all received the approval of the Of the war-it will be rendered without a mur-President, yet he so intermixed them with plausamur, by all good citizens. But if it is not for the use of the soldier, and is to satisfy unjust de that many were in doubt about his real sentiments mands, then the toil worn tax-payer should especially in view of his recall of Fremont, and hold to a strict account the men in authority who, in addition to the immense sums necessarily proclamations. Yet, at length, a step was taken raised for the war, have carelessly, or criminally, which, for the first time disclosed the length and suffered unjust debts to accumulate.

The appropriations for the Army alone, for the year beginning the 1st of July, 1862, are at the rate of \$820 for each soldier, assuming that we It is no more nor less than general, universal ontinually have a standing army of over six abolition-abolition to be effected by the toil and hundred thousand men, and the expenditures labor and sweat, through untold years, of the have been at a greater rate for the past year. white men of the North: to purchase and set The soldier don't get it: every man knows that, free the ignorant, lazy black bondmen of the What becomes of it? Who takes 't? Is it stolen? South. The proud Anglo Saxon race are to make Committees raised by Congress, and Commis

themselves-their children and their children's mers appointed by the President, have reported children, to remote generations, slaves to the tax facts es ablishing a system of bare faced rascality. gatherer; and for what; to satisfy a spurious fanhandling the money of the people, that never atical philanthropy-to satisfy a craving desire, had a parallel in any Christian nation. Some of of puritan origin, to attend to every man's affairs them, it is presumed, are of so monstrous a charexcept your own. To make good a false politiacter, that the President has refused to have them cal maxim. "That a government can't stand ublished, by responding to a call to that effect, half slave and half free." On the 6th of March hat the public interest forbids

1862 (Cong. Globe, page 1102), the President in a message proposed to Congress to pass the Official duty, obligation, and oaths, have been but ropes of sand in preventing officers of this following joint Resolution, which in substance Administration from seizing the public moneys. Public contractors have in every possible way That the United States ought to co-operate with any cheated the Government-the people; and thus State which may adopt gradual abolt himent of slavery, cheated the Government—the people; and thus giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such delayed the war. Scarcely an article can be State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, named for the use of a soldier, or an army, that public and private, produced by such change of system. | the finger of fraud has left unharmed. Wagons, Again: upon repudiating Hunter's proclama- horses, provisions, clothing, camp equipage tion, the President renewed his suggestion, and arms, ammunition, have all been furnished of a vet again, to the border slave State men, and in worthless character, at enormous prices, through sending in a bill to both houses to that effect. the perfidy of paid officers and inspectors. In quiry has been, to a great extent, smothered, and It would appear that this was the wild dream punishment in no case awarded, because connecof one man, and yet it was approved by a major- tion in the illegal transaction can be traced directly become the doctrine of that party. Cong. Globe | Cabinet, as shown by the report of the Naval Committee of the Senate, and the speech of Senator Hule. The Chairman of an Investigating 1. There is no anthority conferred upon the Committee declared in his speech, in the House general government, by the Constitution, to 7th of February, 1862;

become a slave dealer-to buy and sell, or buy The mania for stealing appears to have run through all and free the slaves of any of the inhabitants of the relations of the Government. Almost from the Genany of the States, or of any other government, eral to the drummer boy, from those nearest the throne If, without such authority, we can be compelled of power [Cabinet officer-] to the merest tide waiter to buy the slaves of any of the States of this feel or desire that it would not long survive, and each had Union-why not those of Cuba or Brazil? Where a common right to plunder while it lived. \* \* \* \* The example has been set in the very departments of the Government. As a general thing, none but favorites We have shown that on this question of slavery gain access there, and none other can obtain contracts the several states are as independent of each

other, and of the general government, as if they Senator Hale, in speaking of the fraud of Morwere a foreign nation. Where is this false philgan, the brother in law of Welles, the Secretary anthropy to end, but in our own degradation. of the Navy, by which he pocketed \$70,000, says: It is a false theory that we can sustain the gon-I have no doubt that if some of the investigating Comernment by disregarding the Constitution. This mittees go on, they will find that there have been transis worse than the Cæsarean operation, by which actions compared with which \$70,000 was a small sum; the life of the parent is often sacrificed to save and that it will be considered ungracious to call up one of these perty offenders that have taken only \$70,000 and the child; because here the death of the Constideal with bim when there are others going off staggering tution would destroy its offspring-the govern- under the load of hundreds of thousands

So Dawes, of Massachusetts, states that the evidence shows plundering in the first year of Lincoln's Administration to an amount greater than the whole expenses of Buchanan's Administration for a year.

this sum is not near the average value of slaves These are Republican authorities, and are fully before this war. There are about four millions. sustained by the general facts, namely, that the That would give twelve hundred millions of dolplundering has been so extensive; that each sol lars. To carry out of the country and provide a dier in the field has cost the Government twice as place &c, for them would cost over one hundred much, per annum, as during the last war with dollars per head more-which would be four hun- Great Britain, or the war with Mexico. dred millions of dollars-being together sixteen | As before stated, these frauds have been traced

hundred millions of dollars. We already owe to members of the Cabinet so strongly that one as we will hereafter show, about fourteen hun- - Cameron-resigned, after which, the House of dred millions of dollars. A million! Reader do Representatives passed a resolution censuring you readily comprehend the magnitude of the him-but showed their servility by refusing to numbers? The Sun is computed to be ninety- censure Welles for he was yet in power, with five millions of miles from the Earth-not one patronage to bestow.

sixteenth of the aggregate sum here named. It is With these facts staring him in the face, the calculated that if there was a railroad track from President, instead of causing offenders to be pun the sun to the earth, and a locomotive should ished, with a kindness towards Cameron truly re nowstart, at the ordinary speed, from that point freshing, assumed his unworthy acts, and appointto this, and make no delay between points, that ed the offender to still greater honors. No man the new born infant would grow to man's estate is prosecuted, no man is punished for the crimes -live his three score years and ten-his son that blacken humanity itself-that starve and might succeed him-his grand son, and yet his freeze our brave soldiers-that leave them, as the great grand son might each live his allotted time 7th Indiana was left, to trace the road with blood upon earth, and still neither of them would be from their shoeless feet, in pursuing the enemy. But we are told, "It is no time now to inquire With the vast debt this war has involved us in, into these things " Better say, "It is no time it is not pretended we could pay for these negroes now to steal." No loyal man will steal from his for years to come; it is therefore, proposed that Government directly -from the soldiers indirectwe shall give United States bonds bearing inter- ly; and if any man does he should be exposed. est. At six per cent, sixteen hundred millions that he may be punished, if the authorities will would be ninety-six millions. This would be mete out punishment, and if not, that he may be over twenty-six hundred and fifty two horse wag- known and avoided as one employed in the busion loads of silver, one ton each, that would be

ness of aiding the rebellion. A Committee on War Claims, whose reports are, by the President, to a great extent refused to the blood, and sweat, and toil of the white men of the public, have shown that Senator Simmons, of the north gathered into a train of two thousand Rhode Island, an original no compromise man, six hundred and fifty wagons, fourteen miles long, has been selling himself-that is, for his influence as our tribute to the fell demon of abolition! with the Administration in procuring a contract May Gop in his infinite mercy save us from such for his friends at high rates, they were to give him a part-only fifty thousand dollars-one dol

Against such an absurd and wicked proposition | lae on each musket they were to make. the Democracy of Indiana now solemnly protest. It would be supposed by all houest men that Absurd, because it is impossible to accomplish it and leave us free men. Wicked, because it would of the Senate at once. He is a Republican—a necessarily make the white race slaves for the majority of the Senate are Republicans, but we black: which is in direct antagonism with the believe not thieves. Still they shielded this thief, and thus made themselves parties to his crime Having thus briefly, ves briefly indeed, from the vast material that is before us, considered the points proposed to be included, we are prepared to examine whether, in our judgment, the course oursued has been the proper one.

CHAPTERIV

It is clear to us that every wise and cool-head ed statesman, who had at heart the "perpetuity of our government and the integrity of the Union." and who, as each well informed American no doubt did, fully comprehended the causes which had operated to produce the excited state of feeling that existed, at the time Mr. Lincoln was in augurated; would at once have seen that both factions must be repudiated. That which desired to strike at slavery through the Governmental authority; and that which claimed the right to withdraw States from the Union to avoid such expected attack .-The last named faction was threatening to

place itself in opposition to the government by contemplate such a scene. A barbarous aboliopen war. The other was preparing to sap the foundations by subverting the Constitution. Each should have been placed at defiance by a firm. rection; but I say to Southern gentleman, that there are hundreds of thousands of honest and patriotic men who | manly stand upon the "Constitution as it is and will laugh at your calamity, and will mock when your the Government as it was"-the government of tear cometh. - See p. 160 of Gindings' Book of Speeches. our fathers. The result would have been that 4 If in some of these things we are mistaken- the lovers-the true friends of the Union would. and if the negro would be permitted to remain in every where have rallied to the support of the this country, and to come among us, in tens of government. Faction would have been rebuked thousands, and would labor-then the competi- -disarmed. The leaders left without followers. tion would reduce the price of labor-the wages The great conservative masses of the people, paid, to a mere nominal sum. And with all our North and South, would have controled The civilization we insist the contact between the border slave States had refused to secede and white and black laborers, upon terms of equality, would have been with us. Seven extreme States would bring nothing but evil in its train, to the would have been left alone-and even they might have been saved at an earlier period from These are but some of the many reasons that withdrawal. This would have put the base of might be urged against this administration scheme. operations—the line of contest, south of Arkan Can it be asserted as an undeniable truth, that if sas, Tennessee, and North Carolina; and, better the President had notified the people, in advance, than all, would have given us the cheerful supthat this war was to be prosecuted to effect these port of those, and all States North of them. several abolition schemes; that not one third of The Gulf States seeing this union of the free, the soldiers now in the field-and those lying and division of the slave States, would not have beneath the clods of the valley, or whose bones proceeded to the extreme of making war, for the are bleaching on distant battled-scarred fields, cause of the strife-the anticipated ultraism of would never have volunteered. Did they not as the new administration, would have been removtrue patriots-lovers of their country-rush to ed, and no excuse would have existed by which the standard to fight for the Constitution, not for the leading usurpers could have railied the people The Executive and Legislative branches of the Let us turn for a moment to other questions Government-forgetting party for the time beconnected with the prosecution of the war, and ing, should have bent their whole energies to put see if the action of those in power has been down both factions. Indeed that was ostensibly squared with the creed of Jefferson as to the ex the position assumed by those in power, and the ery of "no party" went forth, as I eretofore shown. But it was, so far as abolitionists were concerned. the false and simulated cry of the Panther, to It is a truth-a shameful truth-that there is deceive and delude. Their adoption of Mr. Critnot a single officer of the Administration who enden's resolution, on the day after the battle of ean, or if he can who will, in his official state-Buff Run, was the result of a general scare, and ments, even approximate to an estimate of the did not express their real principles, for proof: I have no doubt there are gentleman here in favor of The truth is, there is none of us who know anything

subjugation, and were from the first, because simost ev-

selves, and acted, towards the procle of the rebellions but it does not; for the law has greatly cut down the States—and the no less guilty disunioni-ts at heart, in the amount of importations into this country, and, of course, North; they should at the same time have seen that the the amount of fax received on such importations. patriotic and loval men were protected in all their rights, and that they were not borne down by unjust laws, bur- "From the 1st of July, 1850, to last of June, lens and taxes.

1960, there was imported of dry goods

We solemnly believe that if this course had been adoptinto the port of New York.....\$106,843,000 00

ed by the administration, upon its accession to power, the were might have been accorded. And even after the battle of Bull run, if the resolution then adopted, and under which eighty toousard loyal men flocked to the flag of the Union from the border slave States, had been followed by an inflexible, unswerving devotion to the Constitution, opposition would have melted away like so w before the sun. If the purposes avowed in that resolve had been strictly pursued—discarding, as unworthy of a great people, all attempts at inforcing mere factious views. opposition would have disappeared in all the South, as it did for a time in Missouri, Maryland, We tern Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee See letter of 14th of July 1862, f Crittenden and others, above quoted.

But instead of this, men mistaking the throbbings of partisan hea, for the pulsations of patriotic hearts, have insisted upon inaugurating and inforcing their peculiar party views, at this moment of our country's peril-and, most unfortunately, the very views that southern leaders insisted would be inforced, and from which they have influen ed their people to attempt an escape by secession They voted down a re-affirmation of the Crittenden Compromise Dec. 4th, 1861, Cong. G obe page 15, and voted down Allen's Resolution that "no taxes were to be levied to wage the war for emanc pation," Jan 20th 1862, Cong'l Globe page 399. And also voted down Mr. Holman's Resion, "That the war should not be prosecuted for any other purpose than the restoration of the authority of the Constitution " March 3d, 1862, Cong'l Globe page 1042. Upon all such schemes calculated to produce further alienation, and rendering reconcillation almost a value hope, the a ministration should have at once frowned-placed the seal of con emuation. This would have compelled their advocates to abandon them, or place themselves in having been cut off by this law, as a matter of course they opposition to the Government on questions touching the opposition to the Government on questions touching the had to resort to direct t are to supply it—and soon we war. To the reverse of this the administration has lent a will see a small army of tax gatherers in our midst. willing ar, until, says Mr. Wickliff of Kentucky:

stored, until every slave in the United States shall be emancipated."—Letter July 10, 1862.

And as a consequence of Congress having embodied their partisan, abolition views in laws, we have lately had an alternative of the Territories should determine for themselves as to their domestic institutions. Notstitustanding theory of "no party" by the Republicans they have passed an act striking down this right, and forbiding the neonlette exercise it in all the Legislands and the property of the Territories should determine for themselves as to their domestic institutions. ple in Tennessee and Kentucky-and which shadows forth but the beginning of the end, if such abolition course is army to sustein an administration in power, the election

But, says a zealous home war man, a contractor, or a this prior Federal officer, "Who would compromise with traitors with arms in their hands?" Let history answer. During the Administration of Gen. Washington-and we believe he was a greater man than Mr. Lincoln-an insurrection broke out in western Pensylvania. He sent, ave, accompanied, an army to put it down The proper which they had contended, under Don la . But so it is, course to be pursued was debated in his Cabinet. It was the "no parts" cry was intended to apply to democrate a matter of serious consideration, because, as early as alone—not to repni licans, that they might carry out their midsummer, 1794, several c unties in western Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland organized opposition to a law of the United States, termed the excise law—and men in large numbers, in one instance as many as 7,000 armed men, had assembled at various times and places, seized the mails, assaulted and maltreated the United

ginia to the number of 15,000. by the President, Senator Ross, Bradford the Attorney General, and Ystes, one of the Supreme Judges of the Pressly, or by fair implication as necessary to sustain State of Pennsylvania, were dispatched to the insurgent counties with discretionary authority to arrange, if possible, any time prior to the 14th of Sept., an effectual submission to the laws." - See Hildreth's History of the U.S. Clay and Webster cited, and Decision of Supreme Court. vol. 1, 2d Series, p. 498 to 516, for facts in full. In Oct ber, Findly and Redwick were appointed by the

resolutions to which they had come, and "The President treated Findly and his brother ambassa- ercised by the President and his Secretaries: without even

the General Government at an immense expense, but accompanied by commis ioners (Lazarus Powell and Ben McCulloch,) to adjust, if possible, the differences. They did as just them, and our army returned, as in the instance under Washington, without striking a blow. So Douglas said on the 15th of March, in the Senate:

that we must test the question by using the military power and surely will sound strange, that now, it is gravely anto put down all discontented spirits. Ser, the question, have | nounced in Congress that a man ought not to occupy a seat we a government? has been propounded by every tyrant there if he differs from the administration as to the lead-who has tried to keep his feet on the necks of the people ing questions of the day. Davis' spe ch on the expulsion since the world began. When the Barons demand Magna of Bright, Cong'l Globe page 432 473. Not only this, but Charta from King John at Ruanymede, he exclaimed, lorgetting the creed of Jefferson, and the express guar-have we a government? and called for his army to put down the discontented Barons. When Charles the First have caused men to be arrested and imprisoned without attempted to levy ship money inviolation of the Constitution "due process of law" and have, by military authority, reof England, and in disregard of the rights of the people. fused to permit Courts and Judges, or even Congress and was resisted by them, he exclaimed, have we a government? "We cannot treat with rebeis; put down the traitors; we must show we have a government." When James II. was driven from the throne of England for James II. Was driven from the throne of England for James II. was driven from the throne of England for James II. was driven from the throne of England for James II. was driven from the throne of England for James II. was driven from the throne of England for James II. trampling on the liberties of the people, he called for his but have taken place where the courts of justice were. army and exclaimed, let us show that we have a govern-ment. When George III. called upon his army to put down the rebellion in America, Lord North cried lustily, "No compromise with traitors; let us demonstrate that we have people proclaim to you, with one unanimous voice, that they apprehend their rights, their fires des. and their fam- State Governments, and institute provisional or territorial ily are in danger, if becomes a wise government to listen to the appeal, and to remove the apprehension "

Thus we have shown the history of the country-the causes of this war-the course that has been pursuedthe course we think ought to have been taken-and now we propose further to examine, in this crisis, the

DUTY OF EVERY PATRIOT. Yes, patriot; one who loves his country-not one section over another-not his party-but his whole country, been shown that the doctrines of ultra men cannot be carand all good citizens in every part of it. To such we have a word As already shown, the country had acquired unexampled prosperity, under the creed of Jefferson, administered by members of the party he founded—the Democratic party. To that all eyes were turned, and it was deter-RE-ORGANIZE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

subservient tools everywhere, protested and nashed tionists—even sworn members of the United States Senate. their teets. And why? Their craft was not only in danger. It is to some extent a secret organization; but, so far as its to be set at naught, but the great temple of Republicanism | doctrines have transpired they are, that no State, now in it off might be despised by the people.

The Democracy—those who love the whole courtry, the slavery is abolished.—Speech of Lane of Kansas. Cone'll our uy, the Constitution, the time-honored usages of the Government, heedless of the contractor's cry of "sympathy with the 14th, 1862. This war has been prosecuted on the theory rebels," of the Abolition howl of "treason," of the ty- that the rebellions States are not out of the Union-that rant's threat of a "military necessity for imprisonment." the people of such states had no power to take them out, will holdly but calmly invite their countrymen to behold that they were still members of the Confederacy -so, Vir the deep wrongs and bleeding wounds inflicted upon that ginia and Tennessee, had Senators on the floor, although country by Abelitionists and Secessionists and more: those representing their State Governments are against

cause it was seen to be necessary to save the committy in If they are, then it is by the action of their people. I the war, and believed to be absolutely required to save us the people could thus take them out then their action from a despotism at the end of the war. Whitst Demo. must have been tawful, for, if not lawful it is invalid. I crats had in good faith, for the time being, cast aside lawful for what are we waring—to punish a people for the party feelings, their old political foes had availed them- performance of a lawful act? This theory won't do, for it

selves of the opportunity to put in force almost all the measures that had been often discussed before and repudiated by the people.

1. A high protective fariff law, for the benefit of the manufacturers of New England and Pennsylvania. 2 An immen-e issue of irredeemable paper money, thereby driving gold and silver out of circulation. 3 A law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, thereby alienating loyal men in the South.

5. In every form conferring upon the Federal Government more strength. 6. Abandoning our settled policy governing intercourse with foreign nations. 7. They virtually repealed the sub-treasury law, requiring the payment of Government dues in gold and sil- placed trust, but who has failen from his high estate-

4. A law prohibiting slavery in the Territories now, or

ver: thus striking down at one dash all the lab r of Gen. Jackson for the last four years of his administration, in reference to giving the people a sound currency. THE TABLEY. this tax to raise revenue, instead of levying a direct tax rebellion to stand ellent and see the Constitution on the people. Sometimes, when it is desired to favor a disregarded—trampled under foot—our brave soldiers sufficient coming into the country that will interfere with that interest. Now, it has come to pass, that under a lit would be tree, stolen from them by blosted party backs. by agriculturists were made, to some extens—but, as to many articles, not in as great quantifies as we needed; consequently we were supplied from abroad. This was so as to many of the cotton, mixed and cheap woolen fabric—as to many articles of cutlers, and in this country, and consequently we obtain them abroad; as some kinds o specific to all the latter class, every cent that is added, as a to all the latter class, every cent that is added, as a tax, comes eventually out of the hand of the person who consumes the article. This we can see by the present of coffee, compared with that of two years ago. alone, on the foreign, for this tended to build up manu-facturers at home. But these home manufactures become We invite all who love the Constitution—all who deter Political Economy, p. 134. Epon many ir icles of the swear by "The Great Eternal" that no foul fin that foreigners could not bring the articles into this coun- wisdom of our sages, and blood of our herost."

ery thing that they have done since then, has indicated, try, and consequently our home man had their own way that that was their original idea.—Wr. Comman, July 726, of it—there was no longer any competition from abroad.

1862, Congressional Globe, p. 3144.

This doctrine of the right of conquest is precisely the doctrine which was held by the Parliament and King of Great Britain in our revolution.—id. 3143.

As we have all along attempted to show this position is in direct opposition to that which was os'ensibly assumed at first, and which in good faith ought to have been assumed and proclaimed in so clear a manner that the "wayfaring man though a fool might not err" in regard to ft. The rescue of the loyal men from the control of asurpers—the restoration of the right authority of the government—the maintainance of the Constitution and the laws, should have been inscribed upon our bapaces; and should have constituted Thus passed, and at amended by this Republican Conof the Constitution and the law, should have seen inscribed upon our hunners; and should have constituted
the actrons say in which we walked forth purified of the
evil which was upon us. These ultras disregarded their
own avewals, after the scare was over, like the sow they
returned to the wallow, and hise the dog to his vomit. their soil, either directly or indirectly, after it was manu-They forgot the maxims of Jefferson, to do "equal and exact justice to all men o. whatever State," and the "support of State Governments in all their rights," and now insi-t not upon restoring the government, but on subjugating the Southern people—abrogating the state governments and reducing them to mere provinces—thus depriving the loyal men of their must inestimable right, that of set government. Summer's Resolutions Cong. Globepage 736 Feb. 11th, 1862.

Whilst those in power should have thus placed themselves, and acted, towards the proced—cotton, tobacco, might directly, after it was marenfactured—cotton, tobacco, might reduced, the war shut us out of this trade. The tariff shut us out of foreign trade; for if they cannot sell here, they cannot buy to the same extent they otherwise would. C necessary, our produce remains unsold, or put out of our hands at ruinous feetured—cotton, tobacco, might all their is the tariff shut us out of this trade. The tariff shut us out of the cannot buy to the same extent they otherwise would. C necessary, our produce remains unsold, or put out of our hands at ruinous tell here, they cannot buy to the same extent they otherwise would. C necessary our produce remains unsold, or put out of our hands at ruinous tell here, they cannot buy to the same extent they otherwise would. C necessary our produce remains unsold, or put out of this trade. The tariff shut us out of this trade. The tariff shut us out of the tariff shut us out of the tariff shut us out of the same with the distribution.

From 1st of July, 1861, to last June, 1862. 38,155,000 of

Difference ..... 68,688,000 00' This amount shows, as is true, that but little revenue was derived from that source. This too, at a time when, above all others, we needed money. The interest of the Government was not regarded—or the rates of duties would have been fixed at such a reasonable amount as would not have shut out importations, but would have secured the greatest amount of revenue by admitting per-son- to bring in goods from abroad; instead of operating; as this does, as a probibition to the introduction of goods, se taxed.

I shows another thing—that as the goods were not brought from abread, as before, that our manufacturers, in addition to their former work, would have to supply the deficiency; or the people do without. It is notorious that the manufacturing interest of this country is now making more money than at any former time. Many of them run d ya d night, and divide to the owners large dividens-in many cases evarbitant. This cannot be otherwise, because: first they have the work to do they usually did, formerly: Second, to a great extent the deficiency above shown is to fill up: third, they are naking erms, clothang, tents. blankers, shoes, a d sil her stores for the government at enormous rates No wooder the manufacturers, and those in their interest, will not hear of any intimation that this war ought to cease—that is, that the differences should be arranged in any other marner than by fighting. To them it is a "harvest of gold," and so long as it lasts the excitement will

prevent they hope, all inquiry into their course.

The revenues of the Government, from importations,

"It is now the avowed dectrine of the majority in Congress, whether they are elected as Republicans or Abolitionists, that this war shall not cease, nor the Union be rein the face of the "no party" cry by which they raised an of whom produced thi war, because doctrines hostile to this priociple were held—as we have already shown. It was to be hoped that, as these men in their extremity, cried out "no parcy" they would in good faith have acted it; and not have insulted their political opponents, upon whom they have called for help, by requiring them to night, under Lincoln, to sustain the very doctrines against

For twenty-five year following the adoption of the States officers, burnt some of their property, and other- | Constitution, there was a flerce contest as to the federal wise set the laws at open defiance. Men were killed, power. Alexander Hamilton, the clder Adams, and all many wounded. President Washington called out the that chool of politicians, insisted upon construing that inmilitia of Penn-sylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Vir- strument so as to clothe the f-deral government with almost "The movement of the troops was fixed for the first of government possessed all power not forbidden. Jefferson September. Meanwhile, three commissioners, appointed and others contended that it possessed no other powers, under the Constitution, than were thereby granted exthose powers so granted. Upon this doctrine the demo-cratic party was founded by Jefferson. It was thought to have been acquie-ced in by all parties. See speeches of Now, under this administration, the old FEDERAL dec-trine is revived and acted upon. That is, that the general government may do any act not expressly forbidden by insurgents, commissioners t convey to the President certain the Constitution-hence we see revived all the tyrannies

partisan views in Congress, and democrats to 1st abandon

dor with courtesy, and admitted them to several inter- the form and decency of requiring an Act of Congress to views."—p. 512-13.

So when an in-urrection was threatened in Utah, by the Mormons, but a few years ago, an army was sent there by tion act, for speaking disrespectfully of the President. Those few instances of deprivation of personal liberty, for opinions sake, consolidated the Democratic party under Jefferson and put Adams out of power. From that time until the first year of the present administration, no ruler ever ventured to puni h his fellow, in this country, (it is often done in France and Austria) for entertaining politi-"Have we a government is the question; and we are told | cal doctrines at variance with the ruling power. It may anties of the Constitution, the President and his Secretaries

Many cases of the exercise of this species of unlimited power might be referred to; but they are all swallowed up in that monstrous heresy which claims for the Congress and the President the power to strike out of existence governments in their stead. This war is against the right of the people of a State to withdraw it from the partnership. The doctrine advocated gives the general government the authority to kick any State out of the Union—take from the people thereof their government, and reduce them to mere dependents. What is the difference in the two doctrines? There is more of the political doctrines of a lf-government in the former than the latter. But why these claims of extraordinary powers? It has

therefore that as red instrument must be disregar

ried out under the Constitution. To give them play,

Against this, of course, those in authority, and their That has been lately formed under favor of leading abolithe bungling surgery, the fatal quackery, of those who are opening wider, instead of binding up, those wounds—the men in power.

Democrats elt less reluctance, in taking this step, beplaces us to the wrong. It is only invented to give place. and foundation to the ideas of those in this league Notwithstanding all these things—and although the li-berty of speech and of the press, and the right of trial by jury, are thus stricken down, the foundations upon which the Democratic party was built up are thus being sapped, yet we are coolly told there is no necessity for the re-organization of that party. The oldest party in the Government—the party under whose rule this country has been built up-the party in favor of personal liberty, of private rights.

Of old, when one had oeen trusted was about to love his office he exclaimed, "I cannot dig. To beg I am ashamed." Lake xvi. 2 And therefore, by betraying his trust, he songht favor with others. So, in looking around, if on see any one in whom, as a Democrat, you have heretofore forsaken his principles, and has, in the scramble for spotts and place, indulged in denunciation of the party that made him and trusted him, or has attempted by such acts to make for himself "friends of the mammon of unrighteous-ness," beed him not. He is joined to his chief idoi-stelf Tariff means, simply, tax. A law, levying a tariff upon importations, is merely a designation of the rate at which certain name, articles shall be taxed, before they can be admitted into this country for sale. Most countries levy of power is trea on. Treason! It would be aiding this that interest. Now, it has come to pass, that, under a it would be treason to the Constitution itself to see the revenue tariff system, manufactures had sprung up in bulwarks of liberty—the liberty of speech, the liberty of portions of this country in which most articles consumed the press, and personal rights all stricken down, and no

price of coffee, compared with that of two years ago.

As to our home manufactures, when they could make an article, and put it into the market in competition with the foreign article, with small but reasonable profits, we have no complaint of the law that levied a tax for revenue the foreign for the profits and many other public places where Aboli-

so powerful-so much wealth invested in them-so many who fear ultraism, to rally under our flag, to assist us in iticians interested in them, that, when this Administrescuing the power from the hands of ultra men.
ition came into power, they controlled it on that and it is remarked by wise men in this country, and all for other subjects. They, therefore, insisted upon obtaining eign writers testify to the same thing, viz., that there is a a law-not to raise the most revenue that could be raised disposition upon the part of those now in power to bend a law-not to raise the most revenue that eculd be raised disposition upon the part of those now in power to bend to that which they conceive to be, for the moment, popular, of articles that would compete with them, or at least to lar. Let us, then, speak to them in the most efficient of compel those who did introduce such articles to pay so high a tax for the privilege of introducing them that the price would be made much greater. This would enable them to raise the price of their manufacture; articles, and would thus give them so much more prote.—Wayland's men everywhere join hands upon the Constitution of